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America First BULLETIN

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PEACE

On Sunday night former President Herbert Hoover talked to the American people. His address, calm, deliberate, objective, was a strong presentation of the case for staying out of war. But he made one statement which ought to be painted all over the walls of the House and Senate in Washington. He said that "we are not in the war." We cannot be in the war until Congress declares war, since the power to go to war is lodged by the Constitution in the Congress.

Then he made this profound remark: It is the duty of Congress, he declared, to see to it that we do not get into the war until it declares war.

Gravity of Advice Obvious

The gravity of that advice is obvious. This is a constitutional republic. No official has any powers not granted to him by the Constitution or the laws made under it. Yet the very men who are yelling for America to go to war to erect democracy all over the world are yelling with equal violence for America to tear up its own republican constitution, since they demand that the President, without authorization from Congress, hurl this nation into actual war at once.

The Gallup poll—as well as others—shows that the nation does not favor going to war. But it also shows that 56 per cent of the people insist that no war be declared until the people have been consulted in a national referendum.

War Makers Disregard Congress

But the Knoxes, Stimson, the war committees clamor with increasing vehemence for war, not only without consulting the people, not only in defiance of their wishes, but without even consulting Congress.

The truth about the matter is quite plain. Many of these men, in positions of power, have got themselves so implicated in the war spirit and adventure that they no longer think in terms of

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America First Urges Referendum Asks Members to Back Nationwide Campaign

The America First Committee has added to its platform a plank advocating an Advisory Referendum on the question of war or peace.

Declaring that the Russo-German war adds new facts to our international situation upon which the people heretofore have not been consulted, General Robert E. Wood, National Chairman of the America First Committee announced this week the beginning of a 48 state campaign in support of an Advisory War Referendum Resolution. Such a resolution was recently introduced in Congress by six senators: D. Worth Clark, La Follette, Capper, Wheeler, Shipstead, and Nye.

Outgrowth of Resolution

The campaign for referendum is an outgrowth of a resolution adopted by the National Executive Committee of the AFC which recalled that in the last election the people had no opportunity to vote on the question of war or peace. The resolution further stated that in a democracy the will of the people should determine the policy of the Government and that various tests of public opinion already indicate that the majority of people favor the holding of a referendum.

It was emphasized that the Advisory Referendum is in full accord with the principle of representative democracy because Congress would still be taking action and would not be bound by the results of the poll.

Cites Precedents

Congress would merely be acting with full knowledge of the will of the people. The Committee cited as precedents for such a vote, the recent Department of Agriculture referendums on crop control.

The Advisory War Referendum Resolution has been referred to the Senate Foreign Relations

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Join the America First Committee

If you are an American citizen, opposed to Nazism, Fascism and Communism, you can help fight war by joining the America First Committee. Contribute to our work. Distribute our literature. Volunteer your services.

Offices of America First chapters in the metropolitan area are:

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3 East 47th St.

LABOR AND VETERAN'S DIVISION
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RED BANK CHAPTER

Robert D. Williamson,
Shrewsbury.

Public Opinion Surveys Show Widespread Opposition To War

Hoover Says Only Congress Holds Power To Declare War

Former President Tells Nationwide Audience Aid to Reds Would Make Jest of Four Freedoms

Former President Herbert Hoover warned this week that the United States should not enter the war until and unless the Congress specifically declares it, and that until that time Congress should exert every effort to see that the nation does not become involved.

Mr. Hoover issued this warning in a nation-wide radio broadcast over the red network of the National Broadcasting Company. He declared that opposition to American intervention is growing and cited the reasons why the United States could best serve itself and the cause of post-war peace by remaining out.

Following are excerpts from Mr. Hoover's address, which was entitled "A Call to American Reason":

There are those who argue that we are already in this war. The Constitution of the United States provides that Congress has the sole authority to declare war. It is equally their responsibility to see that this country does not go to war until they have authorized it.

The only reason for not submitting the matter to the Congress would be that Congress could not be trusted. Or that the people, through them, should not be allowed a voice. No President in a democracy should take that responsibility, for there will be no unity of spirit in an executive war. If Congress decides to go to war, then we willingly surrender to win that war. And until Congress shall by Constitutional action declare war, no man in America may demand the end of debate on this issue of peace or war.

Opposition to War Grows

In these six weeks, opposition against joining in this war has grown stronger in the American people. Yet we have moved officially nearer to war. And let me say at once that President Roosevelt has held steadfast to his promises not to send "our Army, Navy or air forces to fight in foreign lands outside America except in case of attack." We have not yet taken the irretrievable step into war by firing a gun.

* * *

War Would Hurt Britain

In my last address I insisted that we could give Britain more aid if we stayed out of the war. I suggested that until our production increases we should scrape the bottom of the barrel.

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Bulletin Subscribers Come from All States

In the first month of publication the America First Bulletin has received subscriptions for readers in Manchuria, Manchukuo, Shanghai, China; Puerto Rico; Cuba; the Panama Canal Zone, and Manchester, England.

Most of the subscriptions have come from the metropolitan New York area, including New Jersey and Connecticut, but more than 400 orders have come from other states. Every state in the country is represented in the Bulletin's subscription lists.

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Poll by Hamilton Fish Reveals Ninety Percent Demand We Keep Out

The three important developments this week have been the revelations of opposition to war in the polls, the equally startling revelations about unpreparedness to make war and the simultaneous demand of the war band to force the American people into war—unprepared and unwilling.

Congressman Hamilton Fish of New York sent a letter to all of his constituents. He is the Congressman from the President's own district. He wrote simply that as their representative he felt he had to be guided by their views on the great issue of war or peace.

Postcard Enclosed

His letter did not argue the point or advocate war or peace. He enclosed a post card. On it were two statements: "The United States should enter the war," and "The United States should stay out of the war." His constituents were asked to mark their choice of these statements and mail their cards to him.

He got replies from 30,461. Of this number 27,423 answered the United States should stay out of the war. Only 3,038 favored going in. Thus the anti-war sentiment in that district is nine to one. And this in New York State, which is supposed to be the heart of the war gangs.

Daily News Sponsors Poll

Now the New York Daily News with a circulation of 2,000,000 has begun a statewide poll. It is asking the question: "Should the United States enter the war to help Britain defeat Hitler?"

The poll originated with the (Continued on page 4)

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On The Peace Front

How the fight "for democracy" goes on in London, as reported in a United Press dispatch:

"Sale of vodka in West End bars advanced 100 percent this week and dance bands have started swinging Volga Boatman songs. Red neckties are in good taste again, and the Daily Mirror has assured Russia that 'we are not a nation entirely composed of elderly bankers and bourgeois merchants oppressing a 'proletariat' which has nothing to lose but its chain'."

The Catholic War Veterans, Inc., this week petitioned President Roosevelt not to give military or economic aid under the Lend-Lease Act to "Godless Russia, whose totalitarian form of government and Godless ideology is entirely incompatible to democratic ideals."

Hanson W. Baldwin, military expert of the New York Times and recognized as one of the foremost writers on military affairs in the country, completely explodes the theory that Hitler can invade America in an article in the July issue of the Reader's Digest.

"Invasion of America"—which interventionists use as one of the main scares to pull the country into war—is said by Mr. Baldwin to be a "strategical absurdity." The military problem of setting up an export base at Dakar, then transporting men and equipment to Brazil, and setting up another huge base in the Brazilian jungle, "makes the invasion of Britain seem child's play."

The same enormous problems that Germany would face in invading America would be ours if we entered upon the adventure of seizing Dakar, Mr. Baldwin points out. He urges that if we take the right measures we can easily defend this hemisphere from any coalition of powers and we need fear no evil.

The Bronx County Chapter announces that it has recently opened seven additional units in its territory, making a total of fourteen which are now operating in addition to the chapter headquarters at 1910 Arthur Avenue.

The Bronx chapter was officially opened on June 7, and the addition of fourteen units in that time means it has been adding them at the rate of about one every two days.

American army officers continue to announce that our military forces still have a long, long way to go before they will be properly trained to engage successfully in modern warfare. The latest officer to testify on this score is Lieut.-Gen. Ben Lear, commander of the Second Army.

After watching a review of tactical exercises, Gen. Lear said this week that the army's chain of command was particularly weak—"weak to the extent that if this condition is allowed to continue, the chain, at its weakest link, will break whenever an emergency imposes a heavy load."

Removal from office of Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox was called for on the floor of the Senate this week by Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana.

Senator Wheeler charged Knox with intemperance and irresponsibility after the Secretary had urged before the Conference of Governors that the American naval forces be dispatched forthwith to sink German submarines on sight.

Since this would be an act of war carried out without the approval of Congress—and Congress alone has the power to declare war—Knox was urging an unconstitutional act, Senator Wheeler said.

A Week's Quotes

SENATOR WALTER GEORGE of Georgia, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee: "I have confidence that if the President feels he has to make a final and further commitment he will come back so that the American people can make a decision in the usual American way through the representatives of the people.

"I have not accepted the fatalistic view that the country will be involved in war."

REPRESENTATIVE CLIFTON A. WOODRUM of Virginia:

"The idea of this country going off now and trying to settle the conflicting emotions and ideologies of Europe to me is ridiculous even if we were prepared to do so, and we are not. There are many reasons why we should not go abroad. It is only necessary to state one and that is that we have not the troops or equipment."

JOHN T. FLYNN: "We are told that since Stalin will be fighting on our side, we should accept his aid. We do not need any aid from Stalin. We are not at war. Nobody is attacking us. But he is at war. He is being invaded. He is and not us who needs aid. And the problem is not whether we accept aid from Stalin, but whether we will give aid to him. Yet that is what we are being asked to do—to bleed ourselves white with taxation, to disrupt our whole economic system, to plunge ourselves into bankruptcy and send millions of men to battle to win a war whose peace terms will have to satisfy Communist Russia and which will leave the world just where it was when the war started."

SENATOR ROBERT A. TAFT of Ohio:

"The word 'democracy' threatens to become a fetish without real meaning. It has almost come to mean any nation on our side. From including China, where no man was ever elected to office, and Greece and Brazil, ruled unquestionably by dictators, it has almost been brought to include Russia, under the most ruthless dictator of them all."

"If we let a name, a political slogan, direct our whole American policy, without constantly considering the purpose of that slogan, we are not going long to remain a democracy ourselves."

Former Russian Army Officer Urges U.S. Keep Out Of War

Baron Von Wrangell Sees Conflict a Fight For Power, With Democracy Not Involved

By BARON CHARLES ROKASSOWKI VON WRANGELL
Former Officer of the Imperial Russian Army, Grandson of the Former Governor-General of Finland, and an American Citizen by Choice

Less than two years ago, in August, 1939, two European dictators—Herr Hitler and Comrade Stalin—signed a non-aggression pact. A month later, Poland was partitioned between Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia.

On November 30, 1939, Soviet Russia invaded Finland. This little Baltic Republic has only about 3½ millions of population. Its soil is poor, its climate very severe, and yet Finland has been the only European country which had paid her debt promptly to us. Finland has been a real democracy.

The overwhelming sympathies of the American people had been on the side of little Finland in her heroic struggle against Communist Russia. Former President Herbert Hoover organized Finnish relief. The U. S. Government extended to Finland a loan of about thirty million dollars. European democracies—Great Britain and France—had promised Finland their active help. Great Britain offered to send to Finland a British Expeditionary Force. Many American volunteers went to Finland to fight the Red invaders. And we all condemned Soviet Russia as a ruthless aggressor.

New York City. He had been a Communist. He was anxious to get to that "paradise" which we call Soviet Russia, and so he went there as a United Press correspondent, and stayed there for eight years.

In his book, Mr. Lyons gives a horrible picture of the Communist "paradise," with all its arrests of thousands of innocent people, with its system of taking hostages, with Concentration Camps of the dreaded Russian G. P. U., with the mass-killings of tens of thousands of innocent men, women and children. On account of the collectivization of Russian farmers in the Ukraine alone, ordered by Stalin, in this granary of Russia in the Winter of 1932-33, more than six millions Russian peasants starved to death!

Russian concentration camps are so large that Mr. Lyons, in a lecture at the Women's Club, New York City, in November, 1939, stated that "all German concentration camps can be put in any single one concentration camp of Soviet Russia."

It is true that Nazi troops occupied Norway, Belgium, Holland, France, Yugoslavia, Greece and other European countries. I have no intention to defend Nazi Germany, but it is obvious that there is no place for the United States of America in the present European brawl!

Our place is at home, on this side of the Atlantic. We have to build our defenses. We have to be so strong that no European Dictator, no foreign Power or combination of Powers, will even attempt to invade this continent.

Our only flag is the Flag with Stars and Stripes!

America First! America forever and always!

Public Opinion Surveys On War Prove Majority Of People Demand We Stay Out

(Continued from Page 1)

News. It invited the America First Committee and one of the war committees to name representatives to observe the whole operation. The America First Committee named a representative, but the other committee refused to do so. It is very properly surmised that the other committee knows what an immense majority will show up against war and wants to be in a position to attack the poll.

Moreover, the War Committee does not seem to care what the American people believe. It wants war—and is going to have it whether the people want it or not.

The News will send out 696,000 post cards to every county in the State. There are 6,900,000 names on the voting lists of the State. It has obtained the voting lists and will send a postcard to every tenth name. It believes the result will be a complete reflection of the state's opinion.

Mr. Edwin S. Webster, Jr., executive secretary of the New York Chapter of America First, has issued a call to all persons against war to watch this record

making poll and to mark the cards which they receive and return them without delay to the News. The cards are not to be signed so that no man need fear that his vote will become known. It will be a strictly secret ballot.

The first returns are in and reveal heavy majorities for the anti-war sentiment. We do not publish them as returns are copyrighted by the News. Mr. Webster has urged all members of America First to follow the results of the poll in the News.

The Gallup poll, whose alleged bias in favor of the war group was attacked by Senator Wheeler last week, nevertheless shows that only 24 per cent of the people are in favor of going to war. All the polls show this—three-fourths to nine-tenths of the people against war.

Under these circumstances it is not short of a scandal that the Secretary of the Navy—the servant of the people—should advocate an immediate entry into the war by sending the navy out to shoot every German vessel.

People like Miss Dorothy Thompson, who is a well-known Nowzer (Union now with Britain) and the members of the

various war committees—many of them former British subjects—are clamoring for immediate war. But they are not public servants. The fact that these people want war in spite of the overwhelming opposition of the people is an evidence of the fact that they could not care about the people. Indeed, Senator Wheeler has charged that the Navy under Knox has already begun to shoot. And Pearson and Allen, interventionist columnists, also charged this week that the Navy has been convoying British ships and has fired on German submarines at least twice and probably sunk one. And this despite the President's assurance that there would be no convoying, made only a few weeks ago. Senator Wheeler has demanded an investigation and other senators are demanding the immediate ousting of Knox.

This is all the more shocking in view of the revelations of America's complete unpreparedness to go to war. Up to now these charges of unpreparedness have been made by America First speakers. Now the interventionists themselves are making them.

We hear again the old fairytale about Soviet Russia being a young democracy. But Soviet Russia never was a democracy. It has been a bloody dictatorship right from the beginning, when in 1917, the present Communist Government was established on the territory of the former Russian Empire.

If Joseph Stalin has killed about eight millions people, another eight millions had been killed before him, by Lenin and Trotsky, in the name of Communism. Communist Revolution cost Russia more than sixteen millions lives!

There is a book published in this country by the name "Assignment in Utopia," written by Eugene Lyons. Mr. Lyons was born here, on the east side of

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